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THE ECONOMIC INVESTIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

I. GENERAL SCOPE OF THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION

The United States Immigration Commission, consisting of three senators, three members of the House of Representatives, and three persons appointed by President Roosevelt, was created by an act of Congress of February 20, 1907.¹ During the following summer, six members of the commission spent several months in making investigations abroad. About the same time, work was also begun by the three commissioners who had remained in the United States. After a preliminary survey in this country covering several months, a central office force was organized. On the return of the members from abroad a plan of procedure was formulated and adopted by the entire commission. This plan provided for extensive field investigations and a large amount of statistical work.

Under the authority of the act creating it the commission determined upon an inquiry to include every phase of the immigration problem. It was decided to study "the natural and artificial causes of immigration, the character of European immi-

¹ Sec. 39 of the act of February 20, 1907, provided in part for the appointment of a commission "consisting of three senators, to be appointed by the president of the Senate, and three members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the speaker of the House of Representatives, and three persons to be appointed by the President of the United States. Said commission shall make full inquiry, examination, and investigation by subcommittee or otherwise into the subject of immigration."

In accordance with this provision, the commission was originally composed of the following members: Senators William P. Dillingham, of Vermont; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; and Asbury C. Latimer, of South Carolina; Representatives Benjamin F. Howell, of New Jersey; William S. Bennet, of New York; and John L. Burnett, of Alabama; Charles P. Neill, Commissioner of Labor; Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University; and William R. Wheeler, of California. The commission remains as organized, except that on the death of Senator Asbury C. Latimer, he was succeeded by Senator Anselm J. McLaurin, of Mississippi, who, at his death, was in turn succeeded by Senator LeRoy Percy, of Mississippi. The commission appointed as its secretaries W. W. Husband, of Vermont, and Morton E. Crane, of Massachusetts. F. C. Croxton was appointed chief statistician.

gration, the efficiency of the United States immigration law in preventing the embarkation at European ports, and the admission at United States ports, of diseased and otherwise undesirable classes, the transportation of immigrants at sea, and other matters concerning immigration and the immigrant prior to his entrance into the United States." The real problem of immigration, however, was considered to be the "effect of immigration, economic and otherwise, upon the people, the institutions and the industries of the country," and for this reason the commission authorized "an exhaustive study of the immigrant, and especially the more recent immigrant as a factor in the population of the country."²

In accordance with this general plan of procedure, the principal studies undertaken in this country were: (1) immigrants in industries; (2) immigrants in selected sections of large cities; (3) charitable assistance given immigrants; (4) charity cases in hospitals; (5) criminality of immigrants; (6) immigrant children at school, and (7) recent immigrants in agriculture.

A number of special topics were also studied, the most important of which were: (1) immigrant banks; (2) the floating immigrant labor supply; (3) the importation of women for immoral purposes; (4) steerage conditions; (5) physical assimilation; (6) history of European immigration to the United States; (7) history of the head tax; (8) the immigration situation in Canada; (9) occupations of immigrants and their children; (10) relative fecundity of immigrants and their children; (11) immigrant aid societies; (12) state and federal legislation relative to immigrants; and (13) competition of immigrants.

The investigations of the commission and its agents abroad included: (1) medical examination abroad of intended immigrants to the United States; (2) sources and causes of the present immigration movement from Europe; (3) attitude of European governments toward emigration to the United States, and (4) classes emigrating to the United States from European countries.

² From a report of the chairman of the commission relative to the work of the commission (Senate Document No. 280, 61st Cong., 2d sess. [January 11, 1910], p. 2).

In addition to the subjects already mentioned, a special investigation relative to oriental immigration, particularly of Japanese and Hindus, to the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain states was authorized. Provision was also made for a detailed investigation of immigrants in industry and agriculture in the latter geographical areas.

It was decided to collect and present all data by race, and to base the racial classification upon the finer distinctions which are largely a matter of language. The classification finally adopted was that which the United States Bureau of Immigration has used since 1899.³ This action was a distinct departure from previous special investigations and from the practices of the

³ This classification was as follows:

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: Bohemian (Czech) Bosnian Bulgarian Croatian (Horvat) Dalmatian German Hebrew Herzegovinian Italian (North) Magyar (Hungarian) Montenegrin Moravian (Czech) Polish Roumanian Ruthenian (Russniak) Servian Slovak Slovenian (including Kreiner)	FRANCE: French Hebrew GERMANY: German Hebrew Polish GREECE: Greek Macedonian INDIA: East Indian or Hindu IRELAND: Irish Scotch Irish	RUSSIA: Armenian Finnish German Hebrew Lithuanian Polish Russian SCOTLAND: Scotch SERVIA: Servian SPAIN: Spanish SWEDEN: Swedish SWITZERLAND: French German Italian (North)
BELGIUM: Dutch Flemish French	ITALY: Italian (North) Italian (South)	TURKEY IN ASIA: Armenian Greek Hebrew Syrian Turkish
BULGARIA: Bulgarian Macedonian	JAPAN: Japanese	TURKEY IN EUROPE: Bulgarian Greek Hebrew Macedonian Montenegrin Servian Syrian Turkish
CANADA: Canadian English French Canadian Irish Scotch	KOREA: Koreans MEXICO: Mexicans MONTENEGRO: Montenegrin Servian NETHERLANDS (Holland): Dutch Flemish	
CHINA: Chinese	NORWAY: Norwegian	WALES: Welsh
DENMARK: Danish	PORTUGAL (Azores, Cape Verde): Portuguese	WEST INDIES (Cuba, Porto Rico, Hayti, Bahamas): Cuban English Negro Spanish
ENGLAND: English Hebrew Irish Scotch Welsh	ROUMANIA: Hebrew Roumanian	
FINLAND: Finnish		

regular departments of the federal and state governments which had used *nationality*, *country of birth*, or the more general terms *white* and *colored*, in gathering and publishing data.⁴

The investigations of industrial import of greatest interest to the economist and the publicist are those which deal with (1) the immigrant in industry, (2) the study of immigrants in cities, and (3) recent immigrants in agriculture. Other special economic studies which are also of importance, but not so broad in their scope as the three mentioned above, are those dealing with immigrant banks, the floating immigrant labor supply, occupations of immigrants and their children, relative fecundity of immigrants and their children, and competition of immigrants.

II. THE GENERAL INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATION

The industrial investigation, or, in other words, the investigation of immigrants in industry, was one of the most comprehensive and detailed ever undertaken. The principal industries covered were: (1) iron and steel; (2) bituminous coal mining, (3) anthracite coal mining; (4) iron ore mining; (5) copper mining and smelting; (6) cotton goods; (7) woolen goods; (8) hosiery and knit goods; (9) silk goods; (10) shoe manufacturing; (11) clothing; (12) oil refining; (13) sugar refining; (14) glass manufacturing; (15) slaughtering and meat packing; (16) paper manufacturing; (17) furniture, and (18) agricultural implements and vehicles.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND SCHEDULES USED

In collecting data, the following sources of statistical information were used: (1) the individual employee; (2) the family or

⁴In addition to general nativity and white and colored, country of birth was used in the U. S. Census reports of 1890. In the reports of the Census of 1900, the designation by country of birth was abandoned in the study of occupations, and the foreign element designated as "those having one or both parents born abroad, or one parent born abroad and one native-born." The classification followed in 1890 obviously rendered any study of the industrial statistics from the standpoint of race largely a matter of speculation, and the classification followed in 1900 made it impossible to ascertain even roughly any facts as to the race of the foreign-born element in the population.

The language test was used in the Census of the present year in collecting information relative to the various races and peoples.

household of the employee; (3) the employer or industrial establishment, and (4) records of local officials, organizations, and institutions.

More general data bearing upon the tendencies exhibited by immigrant races in American communities, and other facts not susceptible of statistical presentation, were secured by direct observation or by means of interviews with responsible persons among the American and alien population.

From the various sources mentioned above, data were obtained in a uniform way by means of a series of schedules. The main points of inquiry covered by these schedules were as follows:

A. In the study of individual employees, a schedule in the form of a card was used containing 28 inquiries, the most important of which were as follows: (1) race and country of birth of employee; (2) country of birth of father; (3) sex; (4) age; (5) conjugal condition; (6) occupation in the United States; (7) occupation abroad; (8) residence in the United States; (9) political condition; (10) visits abroad; (11) daily and weekly earnings.

B. The schedule used in the investigation of families and households was designed to afford an intensive study of a limited number of the families of immigrant employees. It contained 152 inquiries applicable alike to the heads, wives, children, boarders, and lodgers of the households investigated. In addition to the same inquiries which appeared in the individual schedule, and which are enumerated above, the family schedule called for the following data:⁵ (1) household conditions; (2) living arrangements; (3) rent; (4) residence and birthplace of children; (5) ability to speak English; (6) literacy; (7) schooling in United States and abroad; (8) language spoken at home, at work, at school, and at church; (9) annual earnings of members of households at work; (10) months worked during past year; (11)

⁵ In several industries, such as coal mining and iron and steel, family budgets showing annual family income and expenditures were also collected. It was planned to do this for employees for all industries, but time was not available.

amount and sources of annual family income; (12) property owned in the United States; (13) affiliations with labor and fraternal organizations; (14) money sent abroad; (15) money on landing in the United States; (16) reasons for coming to the United States; (17) occupation in which engaged since landing in the United States; (18) periodicals and newspapers read.

C. In securing data from the officials and the records of industrial establishments, two forms of schedules were prepared. The information called for by these schedules was supplemented, however, by considerable additional data bearing upon the economic effects of immigration. The formal schedules were as follows:

1. *Employer's or Establishment Schedule*, the main inquiries of which were as follows: (a) number of employees and rates of wages; (b) races in each occupation and races previously employed; (c) conditions of employment; (d) reasons for employment of immigrants and methods of securing them; (e) effect of employment of immigrants upon economic position of former employees; (f) effect of employment of immigrants upon industrial organizations and methods; (g) relation between the different races employed; (h) industrial progress of immigrants; (i) relative efficiency of immigrants and natives; (j) employment of women and children.

2. *The Pay-Roll Schedule*, which was used to transcribe the pay-rolls of industrial establishments, covered the following inquiries: (a) occupation and race of employee; (b) sex; (c) age; (d) rate of pay; (e) time worked; (f) earnings; (g) deductions from earnings.

D. A Community Schedule was prepared for the purpose of securing information from local and general sources, the principal inquiries of which, as applicable to the immigrant population, are as follows: (1) description of locality and analysis of population; (2) history of immigration to locality; (3) industrial history of locality; (4) immigrants in business, professions, fraternal and other organizations; (5) citizenship; (6) schools; (7) churches; (8) property holdings; (9) medical; (10) charity; (11) criminality; (12) housing and segregation.

METHODS OF INVESTIGATION

In the beginning of the field work of the commission, it was considered impossible to secure a general census or conduct an exhaustive industrial investigation east of the Rocky Mountains. Most of the immigrants of recent arrival were living and working in this territory, and it was thought that a detailed investigation would require an outlay of funds and a period of time beyond the field plans of the commission. Moreover, the decision was reached that intensive studies would be more profitable and yield better results for a given outlay of time and money than broader and more superficial investigations. The investigations in the East were, therefore, planned along special lines. Special topics were assigned for investigation, and agents, in numbers corresponding to the importance and scope of the subject to be investigated, were charged with the work of collecting the necessary data. Among these special topics, those of industrial significance were as follows: (1) trade unions; (2) labor and employment agencies; (3) the floating immigrant labor supply; (4) immigrant banks and steamship agencies; (5) exploitation; and (6) economic effects of immigration.

After the industrial field work had been started along these independent and special lines, it was soon discovered that for a given expenditure of time and money a larger extent of territory could be covered and information secured for a greater number of families and individuals by placing the special investigations, so far as the field work was concerned, under the same supervision. At the same time, it was seen that the original plan of presenting for publication the material collected under special topics could still be maintained. Moreover, by combining under a centralized control the different groups of agents in the field, it was also evident that overlapping of territory and duplication of travel would be obviated, for the reason that the agents in a community could secure information upon all topics to be studied and render unnecessary the visiting of the community by each of the several agents who might be pursuing special lines of inquiry. It was also soon made clear that the special inquiry into the economic effects of immigration was

basic and that other investigations of industrial import should be grouped around and worked along with the fundamental economic inquiry.

The so-called economic investigation was originally planned to show the economic effects resulting from the injection of large numbers of recent immigrants into the industrial system—the reasons for the employment of immigrants, the extent to which they were employed, racial displacements caused by their employment, effects of their employment upon American workmen, and other questions of similar import. In brief, the investigation had for its object the study of the effects of recent immigration upon American workmen. The methods employed were: (1) to select representative communities in which leading industries were localized and to which recent immigrants had come and had found employment in considerable numbers; and (2) to make, by the use of the schedules outlined above, a detailed census of the employees of the local industries, and an intensive study of working and living conditions in the communities thus selected, for the purpose of fulfilling the objects of the investigation. By exercising sufficient care in selecting communities of a representative type in leading industries, it was thought that the economic effects of recent immigration could be adequately ascertained.

The economic investigation, as outlined above, was started during the early summer of the year 1908. As the field work advanced, it soon became evident that the investigation of the economic effects of immigration, as stated before, was fundamental relative to the other industrial studies and that much time and expense could be obviated by bringing the other special topics of inquiry under the same supervision as the economic investigation. This policy was finally decided upon, and the different branches of the industrial work grouped together so far as the gathering of the data was concerned. In conducting the work, the special investigations, as of immigrant banks and employment agencies, were based so far as possible upon the localities selected for the economic investigation, and all classes of field work were made to contribute to each other; thus pre-

venting overlapping of territory, duplication of travel by field agents, and other items of unnecessary expense.

In connection with the policy of expediting the work and decreasing the expense, an additional fact came to light—the possibility of extending the investigation to cover a wider range of territory, a greater number of industrial establishments, and a larger number of employees. In the economic investigation, as before explained, it was planned to make a census of the employees of the industrial establishments in the communities selected for study. This census was to be made by means of individual schedules which were distributed and filled out through the co-operation of the establishments and their employees. The idea suggested itself, therefore, of going beyond the communities selected for intensive study and, by securing the co-operation of large corporations and employers, to obtain data from a large number of industrial workers at small expense to the commission. The data thus obtained would cover more cases and consequently, it was thought, would make it possible to draw conclusions along certain lines. With these objects in view, the special investigations were merged into the economic investigation, the economic investigation itself extended, as above described, and designated as the industrial investigation. The change of plan was inaugurated in September, 1908, after the economic investigation had been in progress only a few months.

With the exception of the extension of the territory in which to collect data from individual employees, the same general plans were followed in the industrial investigation as had been adopted in the economic.

Representative communities were selected for detailed study by the following methods: (1) by preliminary reports made under the direction of the agent in charge of the investigation, (2) by studying the manifests of incoming aliens in order to ascertain the destinations of large groups or numbers, and (3) by consulting the special reports of the Census Bureau on manufactures in order to ascertain the localization of leading industries. By way of illustrating this method, a concrete case may be

cited. By consulting the Census reports, it was ascertained that locality A, Pennsylvania, from an industrial standpoint, was 81 per cent. glass, or, in other words, of all the industrial activities carried on, and of all capital employed, in locality A, the glass industry embraced over four-fifths. It was, therefore, clear that as regards the glass industry, locality A was a typical and representative community, and this fact was corroborated by reference to trade lists and directories. The only question which remained, therefore, was as to the status of locality A from the standpoint of recent immigration. In this connection, a preliminary report revealed the fact that a large percentage of the population, as well as the employees of the local glass factories, were made up of races which had recently come to the United States. Consequently, locality A was selected for detailed study in connection with the glass industry as a representative immigrant community. In the case of a few communities, the procedure as described above was reversed for the reason that communities were at first suggested for investigation because a study of the manifests of incoming aliens disclosed the fact that large groups of immigrants gave the localities as their destination. Under this reversal of procedure, however, the basis of selection was practically the same.

The communities thus selected were studied with great thoroughness with the object of securing material for the special report on the economic effects of immigration. An agent in charge of the individual card work was first assigned to the community selected with instructions to secure the consent of the industrial establishments for the taking of a census of their employees. After the co-operation of the officials of the local industries had been secured, and if the schedules distributed to the employees were filled out and returned with the usual promptness, the addresses and races given on them were used in apportioning and collecting family schedules from the locality. If the schedules, however, were not immediately forthcoming, the preliminary report, which showed total population and families, by races, was used in apportioning the number of family schedules to be secured. In this event, interpreters,

ministers, priests, and other persons familiar with the immigrant population were relied upon for securing addresses of families of the various races to be studied by means of the family or household schedules.

The individual schedules or cards secured from the industrial establishments gave a complete census, or returns at least, for the larger number of industrial workers in the community. The family schedule, which as compared with the individual schedule was detailed and extensive in the inquiries made, was designed for intensive study in connection with carefully selected representative families.⁶ Moreover, as the number which might be secured was limited because of the time and expense involved, the family schedules, in addition to being apportioned by races, were also apportioned (1) by industries, and (2) by communities; the standards of distribution being (1) the extent to which a certain race was engaged in a specific industry, and (2) the proportion which a certain race bore to the total foreign population of a certain locality. The number of schedules assigned to each race was also divided into certain numbers for families of certain periods of residence in the United States. This method of apportionment was adopted because it would not only enable families of similar races to be secured from different geographical divisions and environments but would also permit tabulations to be made (1) by races, (2) by industries, and (3) by localities. Schedules of families whose heads were native-born and employed in the same industry as immigrant heads of households were also assigned in numbers sufficient for comparison with the foreign-born.

In addition to the individual cards, family schedules, and other material gathered for statistical presentation, supplementary data in the form of community reports, industrial notes, special studies, and transcriptions of pay-rolls were secured. Some of the community reports were very exhaustive in their treatment and covered every phase of contact and influence of recent immigration upon American life and institutions. In making a study of the establishments and in securing transcrip-

⁶ See sec. ii for an outline of inquiries covered by the family and individual schedules.

tions of pay-rolls, special forms, as already described, were used. In some localities, studies of the wage-scale of the industrial plants were also made for a period of twenty-five or thirty years with a view to ascertaining what effects, if any, the employment of recent immigrants had had upon the wages of American workmen. Other similar lines of work were conducted with the purpose of tracing out the results of racial displacements and other subjects of economic import.

Mention has already been made that in addition to the purely community studies and methods of work, a general industrial census by means of the individual cards was planned. This result was attained by securing the assistance of industrial corporations and transportation companies. Special agents were detailed to make arrangements with corporations and manufacturers for a census of their employees. This work was very successful, owing to the co-operation of employers of labor. With scarcely an exception, small employers, local corporations, and large holding companies, with more or less inconvenience and expense, complied with the request of the commission. In the case of some of the large industrial corporations having plants in different parts of the United States, the securing of the cards represented a large outlay of money by the corporation, and a corresponding saving to the commission.

The individual schedule or card work outside of the selected communities embraced in its scope the larger number of industrial communities of any significance east of the Rocky Mountains. The data given on the cards was supplemented by the gathering of descriptive, historical, and industrial data, special agents being detached from the community groups and assigned to the collection of this material.

It is quickly evident from a glance at the original plans, as outlined above, that the work was laid out in a way which required a long period of time for completion. As a natural result, when it was ordered by Congress during the fall of 1908 that the field work should be ended by July 1, 1909, considerable changes in procedure were necessary. In order to cover the territory and the studies planned, it was at once decided that the

collection of all detailed and descriptive matter which was not absolutely necessary should be abandoned and that stress should be laid on the gathering of purely statistical data susceptible of presentation in tabulated form. In accordance with this decision, the detailed studies of communities and industrial establishments were curtailed, less emphasis was placed upon the special investigation of the economic effects of immigration, and the efforts of the field force concentrated upon securing as large returns as possible by means of individual cards from employees of leading industries. Descriptive and general industrial and community material was also gathered in the form of limited reports on establishments and localities. As a result of these changes in procedure there was a loss in intensive work but a corresponding gain in the extent of territory and number of establishments, individuals, and families covered, and the field work was brought to a satisfactory conclusion at the time designated.

THE EFFECT OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION

The financial breakdown of November, 1907, as is well known, was marked by industrial stagnation to a greater or less degree throughout the country. A majority of industrial plants were compelled to operate with reduced forces and, in the case of some industries, to shut down entirely. Fortunately, there was no important reduction of wages in the leading industries, it being usually considered better policy to run the various plants a shorter period of time at the accustomed wages rather than to close the plants or to operate full time on a reduced wage scale. This was especially true of the iron and steel industry, and also of the coal and iron ore-mining industries, which are closely related to the iron and steel trade. By the beginning of the year 1908 the activities in the iron and steel industry had been sharply curtailed and a large number of men were thrown out of work or placed on a short-time basis. This state of affairs continued for several months until an upward movement became noticeable which tended more and more toward normal conditions during that year, with practically a complete revival during the early part of the year 1909.

In the coal industry the anthracite district during the same period was not so seriously affected as the bituminous regions. Companies in Pennsylvania which were engaged in supplying bituminous coal to the trans-Atlantic trade and for other high-grade steaming purposes suffered very little falling-off in demand. The coking-coal and other regions of Pennsylvania, as well as similar districts in West Virginia, Virginia, and Alabama, were forced to limit their output by reason of the depression in the iron and steel and other basic industries. The Middle West and the southwestern states of Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas were most seriously affected in their coal-mining operations by reason of the fact that, in addition to the general industrial depression, the demand for coal was greatly reduced during 1908 by the falling-off in the domestic consumption, due to an open winter and the use of natural gas for heating, and to the fact that many railroads operating in this territory substituted crude oil for coal for steaming purposes.

Conditions in the iron-ore mining districts were similar to those existing in the coal regions during the same period. This was especially true of operations in Alabama. On the other hand, during the spring of 1909, when conditions in other parts of the country were favorable to a revival, a return to normal conditions was much delayed on the Minnesota and Michigan ranges by an extensive and prolonged strike of men occupied in the traffic on the Great Lakes. In the case of industries engaged in the manufacture of articles for which there is a general and constant demand, such as meat products, cotton, woolen, and hosiery and knit goods, shoes, furniture, clothing, and agricultural implements, the influence of the depression was not much felt. The glass industry was but slightly checked in its operations. Establishments engaged in the production of wooden and steel cars, sheet and tin plate, wire, novelties, and other commodities, the consumption of which was optional or dependent upon activity in industrial affairs, were very seriously affected and were the last to resume normal activities. To summarize briefly the situation, all industries with the exception of those noted above were more or less restricted during the last two

months of 1907 and the first five months of 1908, after which there was a gradual upward trend toward normal conditions; the industries engaged in the production of goods for which there was a fluctuating demand being the last to return to the usual operating basis.

The effects of this general depression extending over a number of months, upon the field work of the industrial investigation was not so great as might be expected for the reason that the industrial field work did not actually get under way until the recovery was in progress and the return to normal activities strongly apparent. The investigation of the economic effects of immigration was started in July, 1908, and was confined to two steel and two coal communities—one bituminous and one anthracite—until the close of that year. The co-ordination of the economic and other special investigations into the general industrial investigation was made in the summer of 1908, but the field force did not reach its maximum number, and the scope of the work was not extended beyond the limits mentioned above, until January, 1909. Moreover, the work of securing a general industrial census by means of the individual schedules was not widely undertaken until the latter part of February of the same year, and the cards were not actually filled out until several months later. The significance of the depression from the standpoint of the field work, therefore, was mainly confined to the three iron and steel and coal communities covered by the economic investigation. In the case of these communities, so far as the field work progressed under the effects of the depression, efforts were constantly made to secure data covering normal conditions along with that portraying the existing situation. Family-schedule agents were instructed to hold this object in mind in carrying on their work. Recourse was also had to the books and records of industrial establishments, and transcriptions were made of earnings and prices paid for labor during past periods of industrial activity. From the accounts of mercantile establishments, family expenditures were also secured for normal periods. In gathering community and industrial data, the normal situation was also constantly held in mind.

Moreover, the leading industries, as already mentioned, adopted a policy of working shorter time rather than cutting wages. The day or hour wage and earnings for any occupation were, therefore, the same under abnormal as under normal conditions of operation. It is true that the hours worked per day or days or hours per week were often less than the normal time and the earnings correspondingly less, but in such cases the normal earnings were secured along with the abnormal. The only disparity as compared with normal conditions lay in the fact that, owing to the exigencies of the situation, a highly skilled workman, because of the depression, might be forced to enter an inferior occupation and invalidate to that extent the normal showing for a particular race or individual. This would scarcely be appreciable and need not be considered as of serious import. Moreover, as before stated, it would affect only the family-schedule work to any extent, and a sharp watch was maintained in this connection to secure the normal situation. Practically 95 per cent. of the individual cards were secured during the spring and early summer of the year 1909, and were not liable to show any considerable influence of depressed conditions for the reason that in most industries the effects of the depression were disappearing. Even in the case of these cards, distinction was made between normal and abnormal conditions by requiring the usual earnings to be entered along with the short-time earnings in the case of employees who were working under the effects of the depression.

THE EXTENT OF THE INFORMATION SECURED

Among wage-earners in manufacturing and mining, original data were secured for 1 in 7 of the estimated total number employed. In some industries, information was received from even a greater proportion of employees. Among bituminous coal miners, for example, detailed information was obtained from 1 in 4 of the estimated average number engaged in the industry. The table submitted below exhibits in a summary way the general results of the investigation so far as the obtaining of original data from wage-earners and members of their families is

concerned. The table shows the number of households investigated in each leading industry, the number and sex of persons in the households, and the number and sex of individual employees who were studied.⁷

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND WAGE-EARNERS STUDIED IN
PRINCIPAL INDUSTRIES

INDUSTRY	FAMILY SCHEDULE STUDY				INDIVIDUAL SCHEDULE STUDY		
	Num- ber of House- holds Studied	Number and Sex of Per- sons in Households Studied			Number and Sex of Individual Wage-Earners Studied		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Agricultural implements.....	501	1,134	1,064	2,198	19,367	1,237	20,604
Cigars and tobacco.....	127	288	273	561	.....	.....	35,193
Clothing.....	906	2,393	2,293	4,686	10,616	8,886	19,502
Coal, anthracite.....	455	1,711	1,176	2,887	.....	.....	.....
Coal, bituminous.....	2,371	6,861	5,113	11,974	88,368	.....	38,368
Collars and cuffs.....	264	441	576	1,017	146	1,401	1,547
Copper.....	504	1,407	1,251	2,658	.....	.....	6,367
Cotton goods.....	1,061	3,263	2,777	6,040	35,893	30,907	66,800
Furniture.....	338	893	852	1,745	4,384	.....	4,384
Glass.....	660	1,465	1,366	2,831	11,674	661	12,335
Gloves.....	262	551	554	1,105	466	523	989
Hosiery and knit goods.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,490	9,668	15,158
Iron and steel.....	2,456	7,215	4,693	11,908	86,089	.....	86,089
Iron ore-mining.....	255	545	505	1,050	.....	.....	7,597
Leather.....	362	1,262	742	2,004	12,038	927	12,965
Meat packing.....	1,039	2,630	2,274	4,904	40,080	3,422	43,502
Oil refining.....	525	1,607	1,227	2,834	.....	.....	5,500
Shoes.....	710	1,928	1,701	3,629	13,230	7,101	20,331
Silk.....	272	647	598	1,245	5,325	8,827	14,152
Sugar refining.....	194	617	407	1,024	.....	.....	4,912
Woolen.....	440	1,176	1,011	2,187	23,388	17,145	40,533
Totals.....	13,702	38,034	30,453	68,487	356,554	90,705	506,828

PREPARATION OF REPORTS

In presenting the data collected, the special topics originally outlined for study are treated separately for the reason that they deal with phases of particular importance in connection with the general problem of immigration. The general industrial mate-

⁷In addition to the data relative to wage-earners and their families which were susceptible of tabulation and statistical presentation, detailed notes of a descriptive and historical character were secured from between two and three hundred industrial establishments and communities, as well as a considerable number of transcriptions of pay-rolls, for the purpose of verifying the information secured from individual employees and their families.

rial is prepared according to leading industries because it was thought that such a presentation would be more valuable than tabulations covering, according to racial designations, a limited number of persons or families. The industrial significance of immigration which is thus made manifest has also been thought to be of vital importance. The industrial data have also been included in the purely statistical report according to race, and made to contribute toward the exhibition of racial tendencies.

The following divisions, for the reasons mentioned below, have been adopted in the discussion and presentation of purely industrial data:

1. *Presentation of industry as a whole*.—This part of each report is designed to afford a brief summary statement of the facts and conditions developed by the investigation.

2. *Geographical divisions*.—This division has been made according to the distribution of the industry in the United States, for the following main reasons: (*a*) to show differences in conditions in the different sections of the country; (*b*) to compare the status of the various races under different environments; (*c*) to exhibit relative inducements to immigration offered by different sections of the country.

3. *Detailed reports on selected communities*.—By selecting for intensive study representative communities connected with leading industries, it has been thought, (*a*) that a verification of the tendencies exhibited by the more extended tabulations might be had; (*b*) that direct effects of recent immigration upon American life and institutions, not covered by the statistical tables, might be presented, and (*c*) that more definite conclusions as to the economic effects of immigration might be reached.

In preparing the data for publication, the method of treatment within the general divisions mentioned above has been briefly as follows:

1. *Racial displacements within the industry*.—This section includes a discussion of the pioneer employees of the industry, the history of immigration to the industry, the resultant racial displacements, and the present racial composition of the working forces.

2. *Economic status of employees.*—In this section the industrial status of the foreign-born employees abroad is compared with their present occupations, followed by a detailed exhibit of earnings and family income.

3. *Conditions of employment.*—This section is an exposition of working-conditions within the industry, with special reference to the effects of immigration.

4. *Standard of living.*—Under this caption, housing- and living-conditions of the industrial workers are set forth in detail.

5. *Industrial progress and efficiency.*—The progress within the industry and the relative efficiency of the different races of old and new immigration are here considered.

6. *The demand for immigrant labor.*—The demand for immigrant labor is analyzed, and the reason for the employment of immigrants, and the methods adopted to secure them, examined.

7. *Salient characteristics of immigrant labor supply.*—The conjugal condition of immigrant employees, their literacy, migratory habits, and visits abroad are discussed in this section.

8. *Assimilation.*—Home ownership, political condition, ability to speak English, school attendance, affiliation with foreign and American organizations, and other topics of broader significance than purely industrial questions, are considered.

9. *Effects of immigration.*—The economic effects of immigration in this section are considered in detail with incidental reference also to the effect of immigration upon American life and institutions.

III. SPECIAL ECONOMIC INVESTIGATIONS

The investigation of immigrants in cities, as a matter of fact, was a study of immigration in its relation to congestion in large cities. The unit of investigation in each city studied was a block, or a frontage; that is, one side of a street between two other streets. The selection of blocks for study was based on two considerations: (1) congestion, and (2) racial homogeneity. In other words, blocks which were inhabited by races of recent immigration and which were representative of congestion by these races were selected in the different cities, and, in these

blocks, each family was visited by special agents and studied in detail. The greatest difficulty was experienced in finding racial uniformity in the population of the blocks and in locating blocks in which natives of the first and second generation were living. In the latter case, it was finally discovered to be impossible to find blocks which were populated by races of the old immigration, or by persons of native birth, who were on the same economic level as races of recent immigrants, and, in order to secure data for comparative purposes, it was necessary to visit scattered German, English, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, and native families in the neighborhood of the blocks of recent immigrant families studied.

Two forms of family schedules were used in the investigation. The briefer, which was employed in New York, Chicago, Buffalo, and Philadelphia, laid stress upon the status of the head of the household, and called for comparatively less information from wives and children. No data were obtained from boarders or lodgers beyond sex, age, and payments to the head of the household. In the other cities investigated, a family schedule was used which was identical with that of the general industrial investigation. This schedule called for practically the same inquiries as the one before employed so far as the family itself was concerned, but covered the boarders and lodgers of the households in greater detail.

The following cities were included in the investigation: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Milwaukee. Cleveland was selected for the reason that it was a large industrial center of comparatively recent growth, and Milwaukee and Buffalo as illustrative of conditions which obtain in cities which have expanded by the erection of detached houses, of one or two stories, with porches and yards, as contrasted with cities such as New York and Philadelphia, the growth of which has resulted in the construction of tenement houses in large numbers. It was originally planned to study the conditions prevailing in a number of smaller cities, but lack of time prevented. The use of the family schedules and the adoption of similar tabulations by both the congestion and industrial investigations will make their results comparable.

The number of households and individuals from whom detailed information was received was, by cities, as follows:

City	No. of Households	No. of Individuals
New York.....	2,667	12,478
Chicago.....	2,237	11,567
Philadelphia.....	1,187	6,040
Boston.....	1,448	7,364
Cleveland.....	1,199	6,073
Buffalo.....	602	3,584
Milwaukee.....	853	4,243
	10,283	51,349

The number of households investigated in the seven cities, by general nativity and race of head of household, is shown in the table below:

Native-born of native father:	
White	487
Negro	467
Indian	1
Native-born of foreign father	852
Total native-born	1,807
Foreign-born	9,268
Total	11,075

As regards the different races of foreign birth, Bohemian households were studied chiefly in New York and Chicago; Germans, in New York, Chicago, and Milwaukee; Lithuanians, in Chicago and Boston; Magyars and Slovenians, in Cleveland; Slovaks, in Chicago and Cleveland; Swedes, in Chicago; Syrians, in New York, Boston, and Buffalo; Poles, in all the cities except New York; Irish, in all the cities except Buffalo and Milwaukee; and South Italians and Hebrews, in all the cities.

The investigation of immigrant banks was concerned with those quasi-financial institutions which have come into existence during recent years throughout the country in response to the needs of the immigrant residents of industrial cities and towns. The bankers are usually engaged in some other business, such as steamship agency, labor agency, saloon-keeping, grocery- and provision-retailing, or boarding-house management. Although

they do not in any respect conform to the general banking laws of the states in which they operate, they annually handle hundreds of millions of dollars. More than one hundred banks in representative industrial and commercial centers in the Mississippi Valley and in the Middle and New England states were examined by special agents. The principal inquiries made were as follows: (1) nature, ownership, and form of organization of bank; (2) detailed statement of assets and liabilities; (3) deposits; (4) loans and discounts; (5) foreign exchange; (6) money-changing.

The schedule also included a number of additional inquiries of comparatively less importance than those outlined above. A special examination was made of the amount of money sent to their native lands by immigrants in this country, of the methods of its transmission, and of the purposes for which such money was used abroad.

Because of the lack of available time, it was decided to limit the study of immigrants in agriculture to races which have been coming to the United States during the past fifteen years. The investigation sought "to determine to what extent races of recent immigration were settling on the land, their success as farmers, and the progress such races are making as compared with the persons of the same race in industrial work" and with native-born farmers. In conducting the investigation, alien agricultural communities were selected as the unit of study and were visited by groups of special agents. Detailed information was secured from agricultural families by means of the same schedule used in the general industrial investigation, together with a supplement specially prepared for the purpose. The principal inquiries in addition to those included in the general family schedule were as follows: (1) industrial condition before entering agriculture; (2) acres first leased or purchased; (3) subsequent land purchases; (4) present condition of land and improvements; (5) acres cultivated; (6) kind and value of crops; (7) amount and value of live stock owned; (8) markets available; (9) opportunities for outside employment; (10) church and school facilities; (11) opportunities for social life and amusements.

General historical and descriptive material was also collected in each agricultural colony to be used in preparing the statistical data for publication. On the Pacific Coast a considerable number of localities and about 1,000 agricultural families were studied in detail and with special reference to the problem of oriental immigration. East of the Rocky Mountains the report covers in an exhaustive way 40 agricultural communities and more than 600 families and households of recent immigration.

In addition to the general study of races engaged primarily in agriculture, special studies were also made in a number of localities of recent immigrants who engage in seasonal agricultural occupations; notably the Italian berry-pickers in New Jersey, the Brava cranberry-pickers in Massachusetts, and the Polish and Italian truck-farm workers in canning districts of New York and Maryland. In the broader investigation, agricultural colonies were generally adopted as the unit of study. The data secured will also be largely presented by colonies of different races.

The investigation of the floating immigrant labor supply was planned to cover the labor and other agencies by which seasonal and temporary immigrant labor is distributed, as well as to ascertain the conditions under which such labor works and lives. Employment and labor agencies were examined in Duluth, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and New York. The principal inquiries made were as follows: (1) number of laborers registered monthly for the past year; (2) number of applications monthly for the past year; (3) number of laborers employed monthly for the past year; (4) charges made to laborers and employer; (5) states supplied with labor; (6) class of labor for which employment was secured; (7) name and location of corporations which, directly or through padroni, were applicants for large numbers; (8) names and addresses of padroni who were applicants for large numbers; (9) was money advanced to those furnished employment? (10) was railroad passage purchased? (11) was subsistence furnished while waiting for transportation or while en route?

In studying the working and living conditions of this class of labor, special agents visited railroad construction camps and other temporary work in the South, Southwest, East, and Northwest and secured original data by means of (1) the individual, (2) the family, and (3) a modified form of the community, schedules.

The investigation of the competition of immigrants was, as a matter of fact, a study of the economic effects of immigration so far as the principal trades were concerned, and constitutes in this respect a supplement to the more extended reports upon occupations and industrial status of recent immigrants. It includes an examination of the labor organizations in the cities of the East and Middle West, which have been affected by the competition of immigrant labor, and a study of the effects of the resultant racial displacements. The object of the investigation was to secure an expression of the attitude of organized labor toward recent immigration and to examine this point of view in the light of the data available. The principal inquiries of labor organizations were as follows: (1) Effect of competition of immigrants on wages and hours; (2) Does this competition affect the number of women and children, if any, in the trade? (3) Are natives or other races being displaced; if so, what becomes of them? Do they enter better-paying occupations in same or other localities? (4) Have immigrants been used as strike-breakers? (5) Are immigrants admitted to union, or must they at least have first papers? (6) Within recent years what race or races have entered your trade in largest numbers? (7) What proportion of these immigrants become union men? (8) Races which do, and races which do not, lower standard of living; (9) Races and prevailing wage and hours in 1902 and in 1907; (10) Length of apprenticeship required, if any; (11) Give, in order of their numerical strength, races (including natives) in your organization at the present time; (12) What proportion of immigrants having cards in the foreign union of your trade join yours?

The study of the occupations of foreign races in the United States consisted of a comparison between immigrants and the

native-born children of immigrants as regards the kind of occupation in which they are employed. The statistics were derived from original and unpublished data in possession of the Bureau of the Census. The tables presented classify the breadwinners in each generation according to occupations. The subject is treated first by occupations, or occupation groups, with a view to determining readily the differences between different foreign nationalities as regards their representation in certain typical or important occupations. This forms Part I of the study. In the second part the occupational classification is studied by nationalities so as to bring together the occupational data relating to each nationality.

The study of the relative fecundity of immigrants and their children was also based upon unpublished schedules of the Twelfth Census. The study involved a comparison of the number of children in immigrant families in which the parents were of foreign birth and of families of the same nationality in which the parents were native-born.

The reports upon immigrant banks, occupations of immigrants and their children, relative fecundity of immigrants and their children, immigrants in cities, and the bituminous coal mining, cotton goods, iron and steel, and the slaughtering and meat-packing industries have been completed. The tabulations for the other industrial studies are also finished and the reports will be published at intervals, plans having been made for the publication of the complete series before the end of the present year.

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